



Operationalizing Smart-Power:

Meaning, Measurement, Management

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Roadmap

- Concepts and terminology
- Theory and model
- Context
- Case studies
- Guiding principles
- Applications and questions

Concepts and Terminology

- “Hard-Power” and “Soft-Power” (Nye)
- **Categories:**
 - “Hard” = force, coercion, conditionality
 - “Soft” = attraction, appeal, values
- **Spectrum:** force & attraction as end points
- Categorical and spectral examples
- Shortcomings of “hard” and “soft” terminology

Theory and Model (1)

- “Smart-Power” as sensible (optimal?) combination of soft- and hard-power instruments
- Trade-offs, sequencing soft & hard
- Optimal choices are contingency-dependent, also affected by partners’ sharing of costs and decision-making

Theory and Model (2)

- **Heuristic model: (1) $SP_k = P(P^S_{itk}, P^H_{itk})$**

SP_k = smart power, k = contingencies, e.g., natural disasters, COIN, counter proliferation, etc. ($k = 1, \dots, q$)

P^S_i = soft power instruments ($i = 1, \dots, m$)

P^H_j = hard power instruments ($j = 1, \dots, n$)

t = time, ($t = 1, \dots, T$)

- **SP_k is index of effectiveness in each contingency**

Theory and Model (3)

- (2) $SP_k = \alpha_{itk} P_{itk}^S + \beta_{itk} P_{itk}^H$

Equation (2) can be used to track US and partners' inputs; meaning of α , β

- (3) $CSP_k = \sum CP_{ik}^S + \sum CP_{ik}^H$

Equation (3) refers to tracking of costs, C

Context for Exercising Smart Power (1)

- Multipolarity: expanding roles of China, India, G-20; perhaps diminished roles of EU, Japan, US
- Recession, slow recovery, deficits and constrained budgets in US, EU, some other countries
- “Declinism” in US, but unrealism of “realists”

Context for Exercising Smart Power (2)

- Incentives for sharing costs, and hence decision making
- Allies, partners, and situation-dependent *ad hoc* coalitions (e.g., Arab League and Libya, obliquely also China, Russia)
- Difficulty of multilateral decision making in fast-moving contingencies: central role of diplomacy

Case Studies (1): Indonesia, 2004

- **Methodology:** study each contingency; identify “hard” & “soft” instruments; establish metrics to measure P^H & P^S ; cost analysis (feasible, but complicated)
- **Indonesia (2004): Disaster Relief:** prior Thailand/US mil-to-mil “Cobra Gold” annual exercises (since 1982), other regional participants; US air assets in Japan, Korea (P^H);
 - relief and reconstruction outlays (P^S): 32 countries; \$4.9B gov’t, \$2.9 private; Germany largest \$1.3B, US \$1.1B, Australia, \$1.0B

Case Studies (2): Kosovo, Somalia, Iran

- **Kosovo** (1998): Public diplomacy, TV, print & e-media, humanitarian evidence; ODA and instruments of civil society (Inst.of Peace, NED), (P^S);
- NATO “Op.Allied Force” (43% of ISR sorties, 36% of strike sorties), also spec.ops forces (P^H);
- **Somalia** (2009): 71% of DAC aid from OECD allies (P^S)
- **Iran** (2009): 90% of civil society instruments from OECD allies (P^S)

Some Guiding Principles

- “Smartness” of power entails sharing responsibilities, as well as costs
 - but note previous caveat about multilateralism and difficulty/sensitivity in managing it
- Partners may be ***ad hoc*** and local, or formal allies, depending on contingencies
- “Smartness” also entails intra-US sharing across services and agencies
- Constraints on US resources warrant special attention to dexterity in exercising power

Applications and Questions

- Model may be as (or more) useful for accounting and learning as (than) for heuristic purposes
 - tracking instruments, contingency types, sequencing, and costs can help in evaluating and improving SP use
- Organizational implications in USG warrant further consideration
- Proliferation Security Initiative as possible example of non-bureaucratic form of international collaboration



Thank you!

Questions and Comments?



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